KOSTA P. MANOJLOVIĆ (1890–1949) AND THE IDEA OF SLAVIC AND BALKAN CULTURAL UNIFICATION

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# List of Abbreviations

ASCU All-Slav Choral Union
AY Archives of Yugoslavia
CCU Croatian Choral Union
CSA Croatian State Archives
FBCS First Belgrade Choral Society
HAB Historical Archives of Belgrade
HTML Historical Museum of the town of Lom
IMRO Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization
[Kingdom of] SCS Serbs, Croats, Slovenes
SABAS Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
SAM State Archives – Montana
SASA Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts
SSCU South-Slav Choral Union

# Kosta P. Manojlović and Narratives on "Southern Serbia"*

Srđan Atanasovski

In this article I will discuss interwar narratives on "Southern Serbia" in the context of music practices, specifically referring to the activities of Kosta Manojlović as music scholar, collector of folk songs, and composer. I will firstly show how narratives on "Southern Serbia" connect with prewar narratives on "Old Serbia" and what their role was in establishing new modes of governing in the territories which were annexed by the Kingdom of Serbia in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars. I will then analyze Manojlović's writings – articles on ethnography and folk music analysis – which spanned a decade (1925–1935) and contributed to this discourse.

## From "Old Serbia" to "Southern Serbia"

Appearing as an islet of territory free of direct rule of two great competing empires – Ottoman and Habsburg – the modern Serbian state was from the outset formulated as an expansionistic, irredentist enterprise. One may cite the *Načertanije* [*A Draft*], a draft foreign policy document written by Ilija Garašanin in 1844, as an exemplary source for describing this unique position of Serbia (published in Stranjaković 1931; cf. Ljušić 2008). Very much in accord with the governing European imperialistic paradigm of the period, this document postulates territorial expansion as the *raison d'être* of the Principality of Serbia and vindicates its territorial claims by reference to historical rights and the perceived continuity with the medieval Serbian state of the House of Nemanjić. At the height of the "Eastern Question", Serbian intellectuals concentrated their attention on what was termed "Old Serbia", encompassing loosely defined swaths of territory of today's Kosovo, northern Albania, and Macedonia, and developed a specific discourse which positioned "Old Serbia" as a core

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Serbian national territory. A simple reminder of medieval borders was, however, insufficient, and territorial claims had to be vindicated through intricate linkages between historical and natural right, as well as scholarly knowledge and poetic imagination. Direct experience became of the utmost importance, as prominent writers, scholars and artists travelled to Ottoman-controlled areas to gain first-hand knowledge to support the Serbian claim while engaging in historical, demographical, and ethnographical discussions, as well as presenting folk art and traditions of the Christian and Slavic-language-speaking population.[1] An important part of this project was the folk song as "evidence": the presentation of records of songs purportedly made in "Old Serbia" as part of broader Serbian music folklore (Atanasovski 2017).

During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and the subsequent First World War (1914–1918), the question of Serbia's share in the crumbling Ottoman Empire's territories was finally resolved, and what was at that point referred to as "Southern Serbia" was to be integrated into the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Although various scholars played roles in the production of knowledge which was supposed to influence the outcome of the new borders (most famously, Serbian geographer Jovan Cvijić published no less than four different "ethnolinguistic maps" of Macedonia between 1906 and 1918; White 2000: 236–238), negotiations relied mostly on issues of military gains and diplomatic power. Moreover, diplomatic records from negotiations leading to the Treaty of London, which brought the First Balkan War to the end in 1913, show that, once forced to give up direct access to the sea, the Serbian side insisted on maximizing its territorial gains regardless of the demographic and "ethnolingustic" structure of the acquired territories (Rastović 2005: 172–178).[2] Not surprisingly, the integration of these territories into Serbian, and later the Yugoslav, nation, proved to be a laborious enterprise, which not only entailed expelling a significant portion of the local

1 Projects such as that of Branislav Nušić, a prominent Serbian writer, journalist and civil servant, became paradigmatic: after visiting Skopje and acting as the consul of Kingdom of Serbia in Prishtina between 1893 and 1896, Nušić firstly published two travelogues: *S obala Ohridskog jezera* [*From the shores of Ohrid lake*], Nušić 1894, and *S Kosova na sinje more* [*From Kosovo towards the blue sea*], Nušić 1902, and secondly a scholarly two-volume monograph *Kosovo. Opis zemlje i naroda* [*Kosovo: Description of the land and people*], Nušić 1902–1903. Nušić's project shows not only how academic and poetic visions can become intermingled, but moreover how legitimacy of a scholarly voice in this discourse was vindicated through his documented visit to "Old Serbia".

2 Serbian public at the time almost univocally supported this supposed military "*Reconquista*"; one of the rare dissenting voices was Dimitrije Tucović, an early social-democrat who not only described the war as an imperialist undertaking of the Serbian bourgeoisie, but also, after having been conscripted into the army, testified to numerous and indiscriminate war crimes which the campaign entailed (Tucović 1946; cf. Baković Jadžić 2014). These were subsequently rigorously analysed in the report of the commission established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (*Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan War 1914*).

Muslim population and retaining military administration of the province throughout the interwar period, but also resolving multiple identities of the Christian population, whose ethnic identification could often have been interchangeably Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian (cf. Jovanović 2002, 2014). Moreover, the project had to be articulated in terms of the precarious identity politics of the new nation state, where the borderline between Serbian and Yugoslav identity was often tacitly effaced, as the Serbian dynasty and political elite retained the dominant position in the newly united Kingdom (cf. Bakić 2004). The narratives of "Southern Serbia" as the new core territory of the Kingdom thus heavily relied on previous narratives of "Old Serbia", and were comparably prominent across scholarly and art discourses, including both production of knowledge about folk music and the production of art music itself. There were, however, notable differences in the discourse on "Southern Serbia" compared to the previous discourse on "Old Serbia", both in terms of technicalities and in specific strategies that scholars employed to create and enforce this new "mental map":

– As travel to "Southern Serbia" became more accessible, with the perceived insecurity of the Ottoman era giving way to Serbian and Yugoslav policing, and with the state even actively encouraging intellectuals to visit the area by funding appointments in culture and education, first-hand accounts proliferated and were no longer presented as a rarity, which rendered obsolete the utilization of secondary sources that had often been admissible in the discourse on "Old Serbia".
– Unlike the discourse on "Old Serbia" which operated without clear borders and often presented a fathomless image of Serbian national territory spreading to the south, the discourse on "Southern Serbia" operated within a clear and circumscribed territory with the clear agenda of vindicating the territorial gains of the 1913 London Treaty.
– Unlike the discourse on "Old Serbia", which was sometimes radically open to diversity in language and folklore, arguing that the language spoken in "Old Serbia" bears stronger ties to medieval Serbian and even incorporating some of its grammatical structures into its scholarly language (cf. Milojević 1871), the discourse on "Southern Serbia" slowly abandoned these positions and evolved as a classical example of a normative instrument of nation-state in regard to national language and culture.
– While the temporal focus of the discourse on "Old Serbia" was the medieval period, often portrayed as a "golden age" of the Serbian history (in travel narratives, this focus could be achieved by

concentrating on historical monuments, writings, etc.), the discourse on "Southern Serbia" includes praise of the contemporary historical moment and the achievements of Serbian and Yugoslav state presented through a narrative of modernization.
– Finally, the motif of precarity, either real or imagined, omnipresent in the discourse on "Old Serbia", loses its central position as the main emotional resource and driving force of the narrative, and is supplanted by a eulogy of state policing in the area.

A key similarity between the two discourses remains, however, their shared relative ignorance of non-Slavic, non-Christian population, particularly its culture and folklore, which merits almost no mention in ethnographic studies of the visiting scholars. While simply ignored in the prewar period, or dismissed as a population of recent converts, under the rule of Kingdom of Yugoslavia they were also subject to deportations and population transfer treaties (Jovanović 2014).

## Manojlović and the Production of Knowledge on Music Folklore of Southern Serbia

Kosta Manojlović's position in interwar period music scholarship is apposite as he was directly involved in decision-makings in music institutions and state bureaucracy, had access to various state-provided resources, and, last but not least, travelled to "Southern Serbia" as a music scholar and produced numerous recordings of folk music. During the course of a decade, Manojlović published articles and reports that dealt with the folklore of "Southern Serbia" (see Table 1). The important, albeit short, leadoff article, "Muzičke karakteristike našega juga" ["Musical characteristics of our South"] (Manojlović 1925a) was originally published in 1925 in the journal *Glasnik profesorskog društva* [*Bulletin of the Professors' Society*], edited by Milivoj Pavlović,[3] and it quickly reprinted in the journal *Sv. Cecilija* [*St. Cecilia*], with the important addition of music examples, The later journal catered to a musical audience, and the article was also distributed in the form of an offprint. Finally, it was also reprinted in a monograph under the title *Skoplje i Južna Srbija* [*Skopje and Southern Serbia*], which was itself based on the issue of *Bulletin of the Professors' Society* in which the article originally appeared, together with a few belated articles and art and

3 The journal was published in Belgrade and initially edited by Jaša M. Prodanović, Serbian politician, publicist and writer. It was partly a continuation of the journal *Nastavnik* [*The Teacher*], established in Belgrade in 1890; in 1929 it changed its name to *Glasnik Jugoslovenskog profesorskog društva* [*Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors' Society*] and continued to appear until 1941.

photographic reproductions. The instantaneous reprinting of Manojlović's article testifies to the scarcity of analysis of the music folklore of "Southern Serbia", notwithstanding the obvious interest of the public in learning about these issues. One can argue that rare contributions in (music) press of limited scope and with insufficiently discussed conclusions possibly even exacerbated this situation (cf. Ilijć 1922 and Ilić 1922).[4] Manojlović proceeded to publish three articles on nuptial customs in the various cities and towns he visited in this period (Galičnik, Peja, Debar, and Župa) in the newly-founded journal of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade, where he was also engaged as an associate. One of these articles was also published in digested form in the Belgrade newspaper *Vreme*. The article "Muzičko delo našeg sela" ["Musical *oeuvre* of our village"] devotes relatively large space to the folk music of "Southern Serbia", although covering a geographically broader region, and is aimed at a lay audience, being presented in a volume envisaged as a "popular encyclopedia" of the Yugoslav village (Stojadinović 1929). In 1934 and 1937 Manojlović published synthetic articles titled "Zvuci zemlje Raške" ["The sounds of the land of Raška"] in the leading Yugoslav music journal *Zvuk* [*The Sound*], and "Južna Srbija u svetlosti muzike" ["South Serbia from a musical perspective"], in an edited volume celebrating twenty five years of the "liberation" of South Serbia, wherein he aimed to draw summary conclusions based on various fieldwork researches he had performed. Finally, in 1935, *Južni pregled* [*Southern Review*], a journal for science and literature based in Skopje, published a speech Manojlović's made as a ministerial envoy at a visiting concert of Belgrade's Muzička škola [Music school] held in Skopje in June of the same year.

Table 1. Kosta Manojlović's articles on music and customs of "Southern Serbia"

| | |
|---|---|
| 1925 | "Muzičke karakteristike našega juga" ["Musical characteristics of our South"]), *Glasnik profesorskog društva* [*Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors' Society*], *Sv. Cecilija* [*St. Cecilia*] and *Skoplje i Južna Srbija* [*Skopje and Southern Serbia*] |
| 1926 | "Svadbeni običaji u Galičniku" ["Nuptial customs in Galičnik"], *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu* [*Bulletin of the Etnographic Museum in Belgrade*] |
| 1929 | "Muzičko delo našeg sela" ["Musical *oeuvre* of our village"], in: Miloslav Stojadinović (ed.), *Naše selo* [*Our Village*] (Belgrade) |

4 Interestingly, when Vladimir Đorđević's voluminous collection of records of folk song from "Southern Serbia" appeared three years later, the introduction to the collection, addressing matters of music analysis, was written by French scholar Ernest Closson and published in French. Thus was again missed an opportunity to produce scholarship on this subject in the Serbian language (Đorđević 1928; Closson 1928).

| | |
|---|---|
| 1933 | "Svadbeni običaji u Peći" ["Nuptial customs in Peja"], *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu* [*Bulletin of the Etnographic Museum in Belgrade*], digest published in daily newspaper *Vreme* on March 2nd, 1934 |
| 1934 | "Zvuci zemlje Raške" ["The sounds of the land of Raška"], *Zvuk* [*The Sound*] (Belgrade) |
| 1935 | "Umetnička tradicija na Jugu" ["Art tradition in the South"], *Južni pregled* [*Southern Review*] (Skopje) |
| 1935 | "Svadbeni običaji u Debru i Župi" ["Nuptial customs in Debar and Župa"], *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu* [*Bulletin of the Etnographic Museum in Belgrade*] |
| 1937 | "Južna Srbija u svetlosti muzike" ["South Serbia from a musical perspective"], in Aleksa Jovanović (ed.), *Spomenica dvadesetpetogodišnjice oslobođenja Južne Srbije 1912–1937* [*A Memorial Book on the 25th Anniversary of the Liberation of South Serbia 1912–1937*] (Skopje) |

To provide some context for Manojlović's articles, and to demonstrate how they function within the discourse on "Southern Serbia", I will refer to the content of the volumes in which the first and last article appeared in 1925 and 1937, respectively. The monograph publication *Skopje and Southern Serbia*, published in 1925, comprises 18 articles and essays, covering a wide span of scholarship, as well as four travel essays, and also includes Manojlović's most cited article on "Southern Serbia". Although emphasizing the city of Skopje, not only the capital of the former Ottoman *vilayet* of Kosovo, but also a rising local center of education and knowledge production, in many aspects the monograph maps the whole area of "Southern Serbia". The opening article manifestly provides a geographic and ethnographic overview of "Southern Serbia", relying on the work of two prominent scholars in the field, Jovan Cvijić and Jevto Dedijer, and bridging the gap between prewar scholarship and new accounts of the area.[5] Historical accounts are given pride of place in the volume, with the following three articles, written by Vladimir Petković, Mita Kostić and Petar S. Jovanović, discussing primarily Serbian medieval monuments in Skopje and "Southern Serbia" in general, firmly establishing the argument for the historical entitlement of the Serbian nation to these territories. Current affairs are also represented in the volume, albeit towards the end, with a particularly interesting short article by Anton Melik in Slovene, comparing the geographical positions and political roles of Slovenia and "Southern Serbia" in the

5 While Cvijić's work predates the Balkan Wars (Cvijić 1906–1911), Dedijer's book, titled *Nova Srbija* [*New Serbia*], was published just as the Kingdom of Serbia officially acquired the new territories, together with a map reprinted in the 1925 monograph (Dedijer 1913).

contemporary kingdom. Although most of the articles, Manojlović's included, openly profess their grounding in first-hand experience and field research, the volume also includes four poetical travel essays, written as reflections on the various routes crisscrossing the region. Manojlović's article appears as one of the contributions specifically dealing with folk art, together with discussions on Kosovo folk embroidery and oral folk literature. Interestingly, the version of the article that Manojlović submitted to this volume differs from the one published in *St. Cecilia*, as the author provided an additional opening (the first four paragraphs and two sentences in the following paragraph), where he succinctly described the history of the modern Serbian state as an irredentist enterprise and praised the southward expansion that had been achieved. Using rhetorical figures common to contemporary political discourse, such as the understanding of the modern Kingdom of Serbia, based on territories of the Ottoman *pashalik* of Belgrade, as the "Serbian Piedmont" (that is, the springboard for "national unification"), Manojlović's tone fit in with many of the other texts in this volume.


Illustration 1. Map of "Southern Serbia" by V. S. Radovanović, published in Jovanović 1937.

The last article which Manojlović published on "Southern Serbia" appeared in a context which was even more laudatory of Serbian expansionistic politics: an extensive edited volume commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the "liberation of South Serbia." The volume opens with portraits of the royal members of the ruling Karađorđević dynasty and ends with a detailed map of "Southern Serbia", resembling the one Dedijer published in his book "New Serbia" as early as 1913 (see Illustration 1). In between, the book covers various topics, including geography, history, ethnography and demographics, agriculture and economy, education, literature, and art history.[6]

6 Practically all the issues in this volume, over thousand pages long, are discussed from the point of view of the Serbian population (which, by default, subsumes all Slavic speaking Christian populations). Other ethnic groups are discussed primarily in the section on ethnography where, for example, Albanians

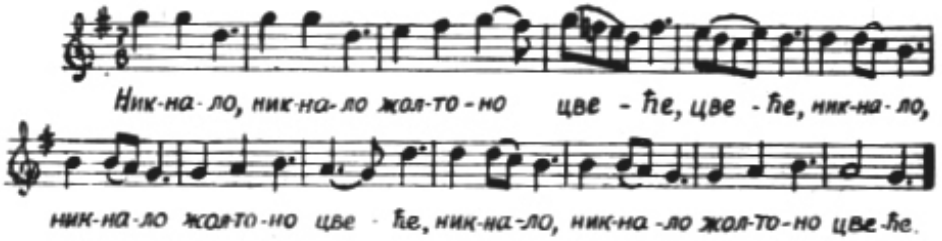
## Forging legitimacy: Mokranjac and fieldwork

Scholars who produced the knowledge of "Southern Serbia" in the interwar period relied on two mechanisms of forging legitimacy of their writings: firstly, as their prewar forerunners, they insisted on the importance of first-hand experience and provided evidence they had actually visited the area, and, secondly, they acknowledged the probity of their forerunners' scholarship. In accordance with the latter method, Manojlović is eager to pay respect to music authors who visited the area while it was still under Ottoman rule: Vladimir Đorđević, Pera Ž. Ilić, but, first and foremost Stevan St. Mokranjac (Manojlović 1925b: 249–250). In his articles, Manojlović not only describes Mokranjac's fieldwork in Prishtina in 1896, but also takes Mokranjac's records into account in his closer analysis of music folklore, even citing some of them.[7] From Manojlović's data it is certain that he had access to Mokranjac's manuscript notebook "Sa Kosova" ["From Kosovo", p. 152], although he also uses songs from Mokranjac's rukoveti [garlands], treating them as authentic folk songs. In his "Musical *oeuvre* of our village", Manojlović provides a variant of the song "Niknalo cveće šareno" ["There bloomed colorful flowers"], which is to be found at the end of Mokranjac's X Rukovet [10th Garland], in order to illustrate the "fanfare-like joy" of the region of Poreče (see Example 1). As this is one of the "Old Serbian" songs in Mokranjac's garlands that the composer does not provide a tune for, "Niknalo cveće šareno" may have been considerably recomposed by Mokranjac (cf. Atanasovski 2017). Manojlović's variant actually significantly differs from the song in Mokranjac's garland, in both its meter (being in quintuple polymeter, while Mokranjac's song is in triple meter) and rhythm. Vladimir Đorđević, working at almost the same time as Manojlović, also noted a variant of the song similar to Manojlović's, albeit in triple meter and with the opening line "Caf-

(named *Arbanasi*) are canvassed in four pages (Jovanović 1937).

7 Manojlović testifies that Mokranjac recorded "over one hundred melodies and subsequently arranged them in his garlands" (Manojlović 1925: 249). In his closer analysis of the songs' ambiti, Manojlović numbers 98 song records by Mokranjac. Two fieldwork notebooks by Mokranjac (p. 141 and p. 142) number 112 songs in total, while the neatly arranged notebook "From Kosovo", p. 152, probably made in preparation for publication or to be made available to Mokranjac's collaborators, contains only 89 songs. Mokranjac's garlands written after 1896 that are supposed to represent parts of "Old Serbia" (Nos. 8, 10, 11, 12 and 15) contain 23 songs in total, only eight of which are present in the aforementioned notebooks. As Manojlović seems to erroneously recognize songs from these garlands as based on records of authentic folk songs, it is most likely that he took into account, firstly, the notebook "From Kosovo" and, secondly, most of the 15 songs from the garlands cited above that are not already present in this notebook. The fact that Manojlović treated Mokranjac's songs from the garlands thus is surprising, as Manojlović himself spoke highly of alterations employed by Mokranjac when incorporating folk songs into his garlands (Manojlović 1923: 127). For the questions of authenticity of Mokranjac's "Old Serbian" garlands, cf. Atanasovski 2015, 2017. Opus marks of Mokranjac's works are given according to the catalogue in Perić 1999.

nalo žoutoto cveće" ["There bloomed yellow flowers"], as sung in the city of Tetovo, to the north of Poreče (Đorđević 1928: 136). Interestingly, presenting this example, Manojlović notes that the song is to be found at the end of Mokranjac's X Rukovet, "only in triple meter," glossing over all the other important differences and also failing to provide data on the singer-interlocutor that he recorded the song from, as he usually does, which might have had the aim of reaffirming and drawing on the legitimacy of Mokranjac as a reliable source of folk songs.




Example 1. Manojlović's rendition of "Niknalo žoltono cveće" (Manojlović 1929: 322).

Manojlović's discussion of the folk music of "Southern Serbia" also contains information About the author's travel to these areas: in the 1925 article, Manojlović states that he traveled to Bitola in the summer of 1923, and to fifteen cities and towns in Macedonia and Kosovo in the following summer (Skopje, Mitrovica, Prishtina, Gračanica, Gevgelija, Kavadarci, Veles, Štip, Tetovo, Gostivar, Kičevo, Ohrid, Bitola, Peja and Prizren), producing 390 records of folk songs in total. His articles published in the *Bulletin of the Yugoslav Professors' Society* contain detailed first-hand descriptions of nuptial customs, with additional information on the times when the author visited the towns and cities whose customs he discussed (in 1924, 1932 and 1933), as well as information on the use of the phonograph, a new sound recording technology at the time, in the field (Manojlović 1933, 1935, 1936).[8] In his introductory remarks, Manojlović also acknowledges the locals who allowed him to witness the ceremonies, and, together with presenting written examples of music, identifies his singer-interlocutors. Finally, Manojlović claims that first-hand experience of this folk music is necessary for its understanding, particularly if a prospective composer wishes to be able to "feel" proper harmonization, which is not to be found in the standard Major-Minor system (Manojlović 1925b: 253–254).

8 As Ivana Vesić recently confirmed, these fieldwork trips were state-sponsored and sanctioned by the education minister (Vesić 2016: 130–135).

## A promise and a threat: "polyrhythm" and augmented second

Manojlović usually analyzes music through two avenues: rhythm (together with meter), and melody; his analysis is often firstly presented in the form of general and statistical observations based on a large sample of folk tunes that he had collected, and then illustrated by means of selected transcribed examples. Manojlović is particularly struck by the polymetric structures present in folk songs, which he somewhat confusingly labels as "polyrhythm" (*poliritmika*, Manojlović 1925b: 250; Manojlović 1929: 319). Manojlović illustrates this with elaborate music examples from various parts of "Southern Serbia", and concludes that the intricate and often complex polymeter is "strongly ingrained into the soul of the people" who, unlike those educated in the "dogmatic" Western music system, can "naturally" feel it, perform it and dance to its tunes (Manojlović 1925a: 8). Manojlović is particularly eager to underline the importance of this phenomenon as a resource for modern art music compositions, given the place of polymeter in the contemporary works of authors such as Igor Stravinsky. In this respect, Manojlović is well-aligned with the general conviction of his contemporaries and forerunners, that polymetric structures are a specific and most important feature of the music folklore of "Old" and "Southern Serbia", a conviction which one can also trace in the usage of polymeter to signalize the "South" in Serbian music (cf. Perić 2012; Atanasovski 2017).

When he discusses aspects of melody, it is Manojlović's prime concern to discredit the augmented second, which he perceives as an element foreign to the Slavic tradition of folk music.[9] In Manojlović's discussion of the augmented second one finds the motif of precarity, or threat, omnipresent in the narratives on "Old" and "Southern Serbia" (Atanasovski 2017, forthcoming). Travel writers had for generations identified issues that threatened Serbian cultural heritage and the survival of the nation as such. The putative impending biological or cultural downfall of the nation also turned the act of "reading" a literary or scholarly text into a highly affective practice, as readers could easily identify with the issues discussed. In this particular example, most of Manojlović's readers would have been familiar with the usage of the augmented second in popular renderings of the folklore of "Southern Serbia", which often playfully approached it as an attractive and supposedly Oriental feature.

9 Manojlović's emphasis on Slavic racial features is important as it reveals his understanding of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Bulgarians as one nation, divided by historical circumstance (cf. Vesić 2016: 218), which conformed with the state politics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Karađorđević dynasty, but, interestingly, to an even greater extent with vision of the Principality of Serbia as the future unifier of the entire South-Slavic population in the Balkans, as it existed before the Treaty of San Stefano.

The arguments that Manojlović makes concerning the augmented second can be summarized in the following claims:

– The augmented second as such is alien to the music of Slavs on a *racial* level.
– The augmented second, as it appears in "Southern Serbia" and the Balkans, is *Oriental* and *Islamic* in origin.
– The usage of the augmented second is *expansionistic* by nature, as this feature had increasingly penetrated the folklore of the Slavic population as Ottoman and Islamic rule progressed, and one needs to act in order to stop this menacing influence.
– However, this *Oriental influence has not been comprehensive*, and a diligent collector and analyst of folk songs in *rural Slavic* communities would find that a relatively small proportion of them featured the augmented second.
– This proportion would be higher in communities especially exposed to Islamic influence, thus bearing out the abovementioned thesis of the origin of the augmented second.
– Finally, Manojlović concedes that the augmented second might occasionally appear in "authentic" Slavic music folklore, but he sanctions its use only as part of the scale that Mihajlo Živković will later describe as *Balkan minor* (Živković 1946: 38).[10]

Most of these arguments are already present in the first article from 1925, and, extraordinarily, at least some of them are present in every work by Manojlović's on "Southern Serbia" (excluding only the transcript of his speech, Manojlović 1935a), making the de-legitimization of the augmented second his main and most consistently labored aim:

> [...] the *augmented second*, which, as such, is not our Slavic feature, but has arrived due to contact with the Oriental peoples. [...] of 390 songs, that I recorded, there are only about 60 with augmented seconds, which confirms our statement above (Manojlović 1925a: 9).
>
> Let us also add to this the fact that the *augmented second* is not to be found here, and it will be clear to us that we are in the real our, Slavic musical expression, which as such should be preserved from ruin and nurtured in productive music [...] (Manojlović 1926: 93).

10 Manojlović generally insists on modal structures of folk songs, which by and large cannot be fitted into the Major-Minor tonal system. Interestingly, Mokranjac, whose understanding of folk music Manojlović specifically praises, although having experimented with certain harmonies relying on modal scales, remained firmly grounded in traditional Major-Minor harmonies, and particularly explored the dominant of the dominant as a feature in his compositions based on folk music (cf. Despić 1999).

> [...] in our folk melodies one *encounters* also the interval of *augmented second*, which is of Oriental origin, and not a typical characteristic of us Slavs. (Manojlović 1929: 330).
>
> [In nuptial songs of Peja] the augmented second is found only in the refrain of song no. 5 [of a total of 21 songs] (Manojlović 1933: 50).
>
> We have mentioned earlier that *augmented* intervals, especially augmented seconds, are not our, Slavic, musical feature, but an element that, by the dint of circumstances, has crept into the line of our melody, and this should be taken into account today, to some extent. This opinion is confirmed by these melodies as well, since, of a total of 448 melodies, only 26 contain an augmented second, which appears as a melodic element in the songs of those areas and places where there is also Muslim population (Manojlović 1934: 91).
>
> [In nuptial songs of Debar and Župa] the augmented second is found only in song no. 9 [of a total of 15 songs] (Manojlović 1935b: 76).
>
> Considering the particularities of the melodies, we can note that in our folk melodies in general, and in the melodies of South Serbia in particular, one also encounters the interval of *augmented second*, which is of Oriental origin and not a typical Slavic musical characteristic. Wherever our indigenous national element is present, this interval is very rare, but in places where there is also Muslim population, such as in the old Sanjak (Bijelo Polje, etc.), augmented seconds occur in melodies more frequently, and, as such, this is a melodic element that one must take into account. (Manojlović 1937: 976).

The most poignant image that Manojlović builds into his discussion of augmented second is the impending peril of true, racially pure Slavic music, holder of ancient historical prerogative, being lost due to the menacing influence of Muslim culture. Manojlović not only maps the problem, he also calls on the cultural and musical public to act, cleanse these alien influences from their understanding of folk music, and disregard them when composing new art music inspired by "national" musical features. As such, Manojlović's articles resonate with the official state politics on "Southern Serbia", which also aimed at removing and ostracizing the Islamic element by marginalizing its culture and political agency, but also by physically exiling the Muslim population (cf. Jovanović 2014).

## Drawing borders, erasing time

Although Manojlović opens the discussion of the influence of geographical features on the music of certain areas (see particularly Manojlović 1929), his vision of musical folklore of "Southern Serbia" is deeply embedded in his un-

derstanding of the Serbian nation as one that transgresses pre-1912 political borders. Discussing what he calls "psychological features" of folk songs, Manojlović defends the position that it is possible to discern the unifying features of "our" (Serbian or Yugoslav, depending on the context) music, either through analysis or through immediate affective appreciation. As he was working mainly in "Southern Serbia", he most often discusses the "organic" connection between the folklore of Kosovo and Raška (Sanjak) and that of Macedonia; for example, while studying nuptial songs from Galičnik, he concludes that it is possible to discern an "organic similarity with the songs of Kosovo [...] which proves to what extent the psychological musical expression in our Southern regions is identical." (Manojlović 1926: 93). Capturing the broader picture in his article on the "musical *oeuvre* of our village", he vindicates the achieved project of state expansion, stating that the "above-mentioned songs from Šumadija, Bitola and Čajnič [in Bosnia], that is, from three different parts of our Homeland, clearly show and prove the ethnic unity of our people." (Manojlović 1929: 319).

In this new political landscape of the interwar Kingdom, Manojlović's writings are replete with praises of prewar Serbia, and Šumadija as its core region, both as the achiever of national unification and as the benchmark against which national characteristics should be defined. Thus, during his visit to Raška (Sanjak), he particularly praises what he terms the "purity" of language and customs of the local population, which actually amount to their being identical to Šumadijan models:

> [...] it is necessary to mention the purity of the language of these areas. In this respect, one especially notices the purity of the settlement, customs, life and language of Stari [Ibarski] Kolašin [...] By the river Ibar, and ensconced in their mountain range, these people preserved all the traits of their race. Even today, when you look from the road above the Ibar, you can observe hardworking harvesters as they reap and bundle sheaves, while song resounds [...] and everything around you reminds you of – Šumadija. Hence, Stari Kolašin, even in the Turkish era, appropriated the name of "Little Serbia" (Manojlović 1934: 94–95).

As the specific allure of these newly acquired territories lies precisely in the fact that they belonged to the medieval Serbian state, Manojlović does not miss the opportunity to argue that the historical experience of the medieval Serbian kingdom is firmly embedded and preserved in contemporary music practice, thus erasing the time that elapsed between the rule of the (medieval) Nemanjić and (modern) Karađorđević dynasties and vindicating the supposed "Reconquista". More than once, Manojlović begins his articles by discussing medieval manuscripts he found in the monastery of Visoki Dečani, speculating

about their connection to current music practices (Manojlović 1934, 1937). Manojlović further reiterates his position that the highest value of this specific music folklore lies in the very fact that it harbors the "golden age" of the Serbian nation, that is, the age of the power of the medieval Nemanjić dynasty:

> Let us not forget that the South of our kingdom bore the two-headed eagle, and that the borders of our state were expanded as never before in time of [Emperor Stefan] Dušan. And hence it is: in the spiritual emanations of our South, particularly in music, painting, woodcut, architecture, there is as much strength and health as there is monumentality and psychological depth. There is something in it, too, inherited from ancient times [...] (Manojlović 1925: 248).

Manojlović did not stop at these general observations, but also attempted to interpret specific features of the music folklore through this prism. Remarking on specific dance practices in "Southern Serbia", particularly singling out Prizren, Manojlović notices how their graciousness and "elegance of ballet-like movements" differs from their northern counterparts, and states that "there is something in these movements that reminds one of the majesty and radiance of our former empire." (Manojlović 1925b: 251). Furthermore, commenting on the melodic aspects of folklore from Kosovo and the Prizren region, Manojlović again states that it has "something peaceful, noble and distant", and that it resembles "an echo of an old glorious age of empire, when imperial hunting horns reverberated through these lands and lords of the Mighty Emperor [Dušan] gathered." (Manojlović 1925b: 252). Manojlović thus clearly articulates the main argument that permeates discourse on both "Old" and "Southern Serbia": the territories of the Serbian medieval state are imbued with the heritage of the past empire, the legacy of the empire is transmitted through the folklore and culture of its Christian Slavic population, and therefore these territories belong to the modern Serbian nation by its historical right.[11]

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In many respects, Kosta P. Manojlović was privileged among Serbian and Yugoslav composers and music scholars, particularly in having his project of exploring the musical folklore of "Southern Serbia" supported both by the Government and by institutions such as the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

11 The main fallacy of this argument is, of course, that European medieval states were not nation-states but feudal polities, and that they did not derive their legitimacy of rule from the concept of national sovereignty, which only later aimed to link nationhood with territory; on the usage of European medieval boundaries in vindicating territories of modern nation-states cf. Geary 2001.

From today's perspective, one can easily forget how turbulent the times in which he conducted his project were, as the state project of integrating the newly acquired territories into the administrative and cultural framework of the interwar Kingdom was far from complete. With his eight articles on the music of "Southern Serbia", Manojlović stands out not only as an author in whose *oeuvre* we can trace all the important features of scholarly and literary discourse on "Southern Serbia", but also as the leading music scholar engaged in the production of knowledge on newly acquired territories, in which he was followed by Vladimir Đorđević and Miloje Milojević. Last but not least, as Manojlović's phonographic fieldwork resulted in numerous wax-plate recordings that are still preserved in the archive of the Institute of Musicology SASA in Belgrade, the central role that "Southern Serbia" occupied in ethnographic research of the interwar period is indelibly embedded in Serbian material archival heritage, even when most of the territories to which the term once applied have ceased to be part of the Serbian nation-state, which poses various ethical questions to which local scholars have yet to respond.

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